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1.4(D)

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P 151023Z SEP 94
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0035
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 001550

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PHUM, KDEM, OVIP, RW, US
SUBJECT: STAFFDEL PEEL MEETINGS WITH RWANDAN, UN OFFICIAL

1. SUMMARY. STAFFDEL PEEL (HACFO TERRY PEEL, HACFO JAMES DYER, HUNGER CAUCUS JERRY DYER) MET SEPTEMBER 11 WITH GOR MINISTER OF REHABILITATION. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]
DELEGATION EXPRESSED REPEATED CONCERN OVER MILITARY PRESENCE AND ANTI-UN (AND ANTI-US) SENTIMENT IN REFUGEE CAMPS IN ZAIRE, AND QUERIED OFFICIALS ABOUT CONDITIONS FOR REFUGEES RETURNING TO RWANDA. INTERLOCUTORS UNDERScoreD NEED TO
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ADDRGSS THE SECURITY PROBLEMS IN THE CAMPS AND THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S RESOURCE PROBLEMS AT HOME. A NUMBER OF OFFICIALS ALSO COMMENTED FAVORABLY ON THE COOPERATION BETWEEN MILITARY AND CIVILIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN THE ONGOING RELIEF EFFORT. SEE SEPTTEL ON STAFFDEL VISIT TO ENTEBBE AND GOMA. END SUMMARY.

MINISTER OF RECONSTRUCTION

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2. STAFFDEL MET SEPTEMBER 11 WITH MINISTER OF REHABILITATION BIHOZAGARA. WHILE STRESSING THAT IN RWANDA, "TOUT EST A FAIRE" - EVERYTHING NEEDS DOING - MINISTER BIHOZAGARA OUTLINED THE MOST URGENT AMONG HIS MANY PRIORITIES: WATER, POWER AND HOUSING. MUCH OF KIGALI IS GETTING WATER IN SOME FASHION, HE SAID; HOWEVER, RESTORING THE CITY SYSTEM ON A PERMANENT BASIS WILL DEPEND IN TURN ON FIXING THE ELECTRICAL GRID. SO FAR DONORS HAD OFFERED ONLY PARTIAL SOLUTIONS WHICH WOULD NOT ALLOW INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES TO RESUME (N.B. EMBASSY WAS TOLD GTZ IS NOW PLANNING MAJOR REPAIRS TO GET THE ELECTRICAL SYSTEM UP AND RUNNING IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS). AN EVEN MORE CRITICAL PROBLEM WAS HOUSING. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT MANY RETURNING EXILES WERE NOW OCCUPYING HOUSING WHOSE OWNERS HAD FLED, BIHOZAGARA INSISTED THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY WAS TO RESTORE THE PROPERTY TO ANY RETURNEES FOUND INNOCENT OF PARTICIPATION IN THE MASSACRES. THE GOVERNMENT WILL STILL NEED TO FIND ACCOMMODATIONS FOR THOUSANDS OF DISPLACED. IN THE RURAL AREAS, THAT MEANS DEVELOPMENT OF BASIC INFRASTRUCTURE ON UNOCCUPIED LAND (MUCH OF IT IN NATIONAL

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PARK AREAS); IN THE CITY, IT MEANS SUBSIDIZING THOSE WHO CAN'T AFFORD TO BUILD THEIR OWN HOUSING.

3. BIHOZAGARA SAID THE GOVERNMENT'S AGENDA INCLUDED THE REHABILITATION OF THE AGRICULTURAL, INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL SECTORS, IN THAT ORDER. BEFORE ANYTHING CAN HAPPEN, HOWEVER, THE GOVERNMENT NEEDS CASH IN ORDER TO PAY SALARIES AND PERFORM BASIC FUNCTIONS. DONORS WERE CONTINUING EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE BUT WERE RELUCTANT TO RESUME DEVELOPMENT AID. PEEL COMMENTED THAT THE RESUMPTION OF AID WILL PROBABLY DEPEND ON THE GOVERNMENT'S ACTIONS VIS A VIS HUMAN RIGHTS, RETURN OF REFUGEES, AND MANAGEMENT PRACTICES. IN REGARD TO THAT, PEELE ASKED ABOUT HOW THE GOR WAS DEALING WITH REPORTED REPRISALS AGAINST RETURNING REFUGEES.

4. THE GOVERNMENT FIRMLY SUPPORTED THE IDEA OF AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL TO INVESTIGATE ALLEGATIONS OF GENOCIDE, BIHOZAGARA SAID; IN FACT, HE HAD PLEADED FOR IT A THE UNHRC SPECIAL SESSION EARLIER THIS YEAR. HOWEVER, SUCH A TRIBUNAL WOULD NOT SUPPLANT NATIONAL COURTS (ALTHOUGH INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS MIGHT BE PERMITTED TO ATTEND). REGARDING ALLEGED REPRISALS, HE ASSURED THE DELEGATION THAT INDIVIDUAL ACTS OF REVENGE WOULD NOT BE SANCTIONED; HOWEVER

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THE GOVERNMENT DID NOT HAVE THE POLICE AND JUDICIAL SYSTEM IN PLACE TO BE ABLE TO RESPOND TO ALL REPORTS OF THESE INCIDENTS. JUDGES WERE POORLY TRAINED, INVESTIGATIVE RESOURCES WERE SCARCE. HACFO DYER QUESTIONED HOW NUMEROUS UNBIASED, TRANSPARENT TRIALS COULD BE HELD WITHOUT A WELL-FUNCTIONING JUDICIAL SYSTEM. BIHOZAGARA SUGGESTED THIS WAS WHE

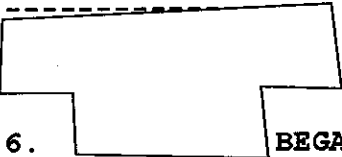
RG THE INTERNATIONAL EFFORT COULD COMPLEMENT RWANDA'S
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5. IN RESPONSE TO PEEL'S QUESTION, BIHOZAGARA SAID HE THOUGHT U.S. ASSISTANCE COULD BE MOST USEFUL IN THE AREAS OF HOUSING CONSTRUCTION AND REFORM OF THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM. PEEL SAID THAT THE U.S. HAS SOME GOOD PROGRAMS IN THIS AREA AND MIGHT BE ABLE TO ASSIST. HE COMMENTED THAT THE CONGRESS HAD RECENTLY APPROPRIATED SIGNIFICANT FUNDING FOR THE RWANDA CRISIS, AND WAS NOW LOOKING AT THE DIRECTION OF FUTURE ASSISTANCE TO RWANDA AND TO THE REGION.

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6.  BEGAN WITH A GENERALLY UPBEAT ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT MILITARY SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY. LIKE A WELL TRAINED MOUSE TRYING TO KEEP AN ELEPHANT IN CHECK, HE SAID,

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THE NEW GOVERNMENT WAS DOING ITS BEST TO "SEDUCE" THE
POPULATION INTO RETURNING HOME OR, IN THE CASE OF THE
SOUTHWESTERN SECTION, STAYING PUT. THE ETHIOPIAN UNAMIR
BATTALION ALONG THE BORDER IN THAT SECTOR WAS PERFORMING
WELL; THE VOLUNTARY PROGRAM TO DISARM THE FRENCH-CREATED
GENDARMES WAS SO FAR SUCCESSFUL; THE DEPLOYMENT LAST WEEK OF
PREFECTS TO GIKONGORO, KIBUYE AND CYANGUGU HAD SO FAR BEEN
WELL-RECEIVED BY THE POPULATION. WITH THE ARRIVAL OF THE
ZAMBIAN AND TUNISIAN BATTALIONS EXPECTED SOON, AND THE

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PROMISE OF AN ADDITIONAL BATTALION OF INDIANS, UNAMIR WOULD
BE AT FULL STRENGTH AND ABLE TO ROTATE TROOPS INTO OTHER
ZONES, PARTICULARLY THE SOUTHEAST, WHERE THERE HAD BEEN
NUMEROUS BUT UNCONFIRMED REPORTS OF UNREST.

7. PEEL ASKED WHAT ADVICE [] WOULD GIVE TO REFUGEE 1.4(D)
AT THIS POINT. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THE UN DID NOT HAVE
THE CAPACITY TO INVESTIGATE ALL ALLEGATIONS, HE INSISTED
THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE TO DATE THAT THE RPF WAS ENGAGING IN
REPRISALS AGAINST RETURNEES. THERE MAY BE A FEW OFFICERS
ACTING ON THEIR OWN, HE SAID, BUT KAGAME WAS EXTREMELY
PRAGMATIC AND VERY CONCERNED ABOUT HIS FORCES' DISCIPLINE.

8. TWO OTHER FACTORS DID POSE A THREAT TO A SUCCESSFUL

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REINTEGRATION, HOWEVER. THE FIRST WAS INTERNAL: THE GOVERNMENT HAD NO MONEY. NO ONE WAS BEING PAID, INCLUDING THE TROOPS; GOVERNMENT MINISTERS WERE COMING TO UNAMIR TO USE PHONES AND FAXES; WORK STOPPAGES HAD OCCURRED IN SOME AREAS; THE ISSUE OF SQUATTERS IN KIGALI WAS BOUND TO ESCALATE. THE SECOND THREAT WAS THE "BOILING KETTLES" OF GOMA, NGARA AND OTHER SURROUNDING AREAS. IN GOMA, AN ARMY IN EXILE WAS BEING WELL-PAID BY ITS FORMER EMPLOYERS AND IN EXILE BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, WHILE TERRORIZING THE POPULATION IN THE CAMPS. [REDACTED] DISCOUNTED THE FEASIBILITY OF EXTENDING UNAMIR'S MANDATE TO PROVIDE A SECURITY CORRIDOR INTO ZAIRE. MANY TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES WOULD NOT GO ALONG, HE THOUGHT; THERE WOULD EITHER HAVE TO BE A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION OR A WHOLE NEW UN FORCE CREATED.

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[REDACTED]

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9. STAFFDEL MET WITH [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] HE HAD BEEN ASSIGNED TO FORMULATE A DETAILED PLAN FOR DEPLOYING THE 20 HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS WHO ARE TO BEGIN ARRIVING IN KIGALI NEXT WEEK. [REDACTED] WOULD RECOMMEND THE DEPLOYMENT OF MOBILE TEAMS FROM THE FIRST GROUP INTO EACH UNAMIR SECTOR. AS MORE MONITORS ARRIVED (GOAL IS 147) THE TEAMS WOULD BE AUGMENTED AND SEMI-PERMANENT POSITIONS ESTABLISHED. HE DID NOT KNOW THE TIMETABLE FOR ARRIVAL OF THE REMAINING MONITORS.

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10. THE CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS OPERATION IN RWANDA WAS ALSO CHARGED WITH ASSISTING THE COMMISSION OF EXPERTS, [REDACTED] SAID. THE COMMISSION HAD ALREADY ASKED THE CENTER TO INVESTIGATE 6 INCIDENTS. HE STRESSED THE NEED FOR A SYSTEMATIC APPROACH TO SUCH INVESTIGATIONS, SINCE INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE HAD OCCURRED AT SO MANY LEVELS AND IN EVERY PART OF THE COUNTRY.

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[REDACTED]
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11. SECONDING [REDACTED] CITED THE EXCELLENT
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COOPERATION BETWEEN THE NGOS AND THE MILITARY IN THE RELIEF
EFFORT. HE VOICED CONCERN FOR THAT EFFORT OVER THE MEDIUM-
TERM, HOWEVER, AS THE SECURITY SITUATION IN GOMA AND OTHER
BORDER AREAS CONTINUED TO DETERIORATE, AND AS THE
INTERNATIONAL MEDIA BEGAN TO FOCUS ON THE FACT THAT THE
RELIEF EFFORT WAS SUPPORTING SOME OF THE PERPETRATORS OF
GENOCIDE. THE UN WAS NOT EQUIPPED TO HANDLE THE PROBLEM OF
SECURITY EITHER FOR THE REFUGEES OR FOR THE NGOS IF THE
SITUATION WORSENED.

12. [REDACTED] MENTIONED TWO OTHER PLASHPOINTS WHICH COULD
AFFECT THE RELIEF EFFORT IN THE NEAR FUTURE. ONE WAS
BURUNDI, WHICH HAD SENT WAVES OF REFUGEES TOWARD TANZANIA
AND SOUTHERN ZAIRE AND WAS NOW ALLOWING INFILTRATION OF
MILITIA INTO THE SOUTH OF RWANDA. THE OTHER WAS INSIDE THE
COUNTRY, WHERE THE INSECURITY AROUND THE BORDERS WOULD TAKE
ITS TOLL ON THE GOVERNMENT'S CREDIBILITY. ANOTHER
INTERESTING DYNAMIC TO WATCH, HE SAID, WAS THE INTERACTION

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OF BOTH RWANDAN-BORN HUTU AND TUTSI WITH THE NEWLY-ARRIVED
EXPATRIATE TUTSIS FROM UGANDA AND BURUNDI; ALREADY, THE
CULTURAL SHIFT WAS BECOMING EVIDENT IN THE USE OF SWAHILI OR
ENGLISH (VICE FRENCH AND KINYARWANDA) AT BORDER CHECKPOINTS

13. IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH GOR AND UN OFFICIALS, [] MAD
NO SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS WITH REGARD TO FUTURE USG ASSISTANC
FOR RWANDA. HE DID MENTION PRIVATELY THAT HE INTENDED TO
EXPLORE THROUGH WORLD BANK CONTACTS POSSIBILITIES FOR PAYING
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OFF RWANDA'S ARREARAGES IN ORDER TO FREE UP NEW FUNDING.
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